6.

A TORY Plot:

OR THE

DISCOVERY

OF A

DESIGN

Carried on by our late

ADDRESSERS

AND

ABHORRERS,

To Alter the Conſtitution of the

Government,

And to Betray the

PROTESTANT RELIGION.

By *Philanax Miſopappas.*

LONDON,
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TO THE READER.

I *Am ſo heartily deſirous of an Union amongſt all that go under the Name of Proteſtant, againſt the Common Enemy the Papiſts, that I would never have ſingled out any of them under ſo black a Character as the Title gives them, if their deſigns had not been ſo palpable, and to unite with them were not to endeavour to alter the Conſtitution of the Government, and to give the Proteſtant Religion its fatal blow. I am far from laying this charge upon all the ſubſcribers of our late Addreſſes: for as there are many of them ſuch as no good ſubject would refuſe to ſubſcribe, if he did not think them needleſs: ſo I have that charity for many that were induced to ſubſcribe even the moſt obnoxious, that they did it rather in complacence to the importunity of the Promoters, than to ſerve any bad deſign. But I cannot ſo acquit the* Contrivers *of them; as none that loves the Engliſh Laws and Liberties and the Proteſtant Religion, will (I believe) think there is any reaſon I ſhould, when he has read the following Animadverſions. Whether the* Preſenters *were choſen out of the chief of* theſe, *or whether they were but made uſe of like the Cat's foot, (that the odium and it may be puniſhment might one day reſt upon them) I cannot tell: But if one may make an eſtimate of the Promoters in general, by ſome of thoſe that preſented them, Eſq;* Duppa *will tell you they did*

not very well deſerve that countenance and honour that was given them for their labour. For it was ſomewhat pleaſant to obſerve our young Knights ranked in the Gazette (Nov. 10. *laſt*) *with Run-away ſervants and ſtray'd Horſes, for not paying their Fees; and threatned, that courſe would ſpeedily be taken for recovery thereof, according to His Majeſtie's late Order and Directions thereupon.*

As to the Diſcourſe it ſelf, I muſt beg the Reader's patience while he peruſes the former part of it, if he think I am too long in coming to the buſineſs: for it was neceſſary firſt to take a view of the juſt and orderly proceedings of the late Parliaments, if one would expoſe the deſigns of our Addreſſers that have loaded them with ſo many Calumnies. It is an undoubted priviledge of Parliament, that none ſhould be queſtion'd out of it for any thing ſpoken or tranſacted in it: And yet at how many Barrs have the whole Houſe of Commons been of late arraigned and condemned? Common humanity teaches to ſpeak well of the dead, though faulty: but to revile ones own fleſh and bloud when gone, though truly Loyal and faithful, is intolerable barbarity. But when his Majeſty ſhall ſay to theſe dry bones, Live, *and they ſhall ſtand upon their feet, they will be the fitteſt to declare their reſentment of ſuch prophane trampling upon their Aſhes.*

ERRATA.

Pag. 10. l. 15. r. *Addreſſers.* p. 16. l. 21. r. *unreaſonable.* p. 23. l. 13. dele *by.*

That

THat there has been a deſign carried on for many years of extirpating the (miſcalled) *peſtilent hereſie* of Proteſtantiſm, and re-eſtabliſhing the Roman Catholick Religion in theſe Kingdoms, none, after ſo evident and repeated proofs of it, can have the impudence to deny; and leaſt of all ſhould we expect it of them who have pretended *that* deference to the publick judgment (or *Conſcience*, as they term it) of the Nation, that they have delivered it as their opinion, that every private one ought to conform to it. For if the unanimous reſolution of three or four Parliaments, and the ſundry intimations and acknowledgments of ſeveral Proclamations are not in their opinion a ſufficient declaration of the common or publick judgment, nor *that*, a competent ground to ſettle their belief upon, I know not what can be ſuppos'd to be. For though perhaps when they talk of a *publick Conſcience*, they mean none but the Kings; yet if ever the King be infallible, I would the readilieſt expect him to be ſo, when he has the concurrent advice and conſent of the whole Nation. And I think it moſt reaſonable to aſſert, That there is infinitely greater cauſe and ſecurity for conforming our *belief* to the *opinion* of the King, Lords and Commons in a matter of *fact* examined with the greateſt care and ſcrutiny, than that our *practice* ſhould exactly ſquare

to their *Laws* (be the matter of them never ſo controvertible) which yet theſe Gentlemen will affirm they ought to do.

Suppoſing then that the aforeſaid Reſolves and Proclamations were not made nor iſſued without the matureſt deliberation, and fulleſt aſſurance of the truth of thoſe Teſtimonies and Evidence that occaſion'd them; it cannot be reputed too great credulity to believe, that Popery was to be introduc'd by thoſe *means* and *methods* that the diſcoverers of the Plot atteſted. Thoſe are ſo well known, that I ſhall not need to enter upon particulars. As to *Scotland* and *Ireland*, in which the deſign was laid as well as in *England*, affairs have been ſo managed, that it is ſtill as to us kept in a great meaſure ſecret. But as to *England*, a Nation always jealous of their Rights and Liberties, it was deſpaired that ſhe would ever be *wheedled* to put on the Roman yoke; and therefore there was no hopes of bringing that about but by *force*. And now there wanted a plauſible pretence to get up an Army. We were ſecure and quiet at home, and therefore no occaſion for any ſtanding Army to quell Inſurrections, which was the occaſion of getting one afoot in our neighbour Nation. We were at Amity with all Chriſtendom, therefore no reaſon to ſtand upon our guard or arm for our defence. But the genius of the Engliſh being moſt adverſe to the French, the making a ſhow of a War with *them*, was hoped would be leaſt oppoſed or ſuſpected. And though a great many of the more ſagacious could hardly believe that we ſincerely intended to force the French to *end* that War that we had encourag'd them to *begin*, and enabled them

them with Men, Horſes and Ammunition (in abundance) to *proſecute*: yet ſo apprehenſive were the greater number of the danger of the growing greatneſs of that Monarch, and ſo willing to believe what they ſo earneſtly deſir'd, that not only was the King Impos'd upon by thoſe that were about him, but the Parliament thereupon aſſembled, induc'd to comply with the deſign. Accordingly an Army of thirty thouſand men or upwards is appointed to be raiſed, and a proportionable Tax Leavied for their Pay: But ſtill as the Forces encreaſed, the more eager were our Plenipotentiaries at *Nimeguen* for making up a Peace. Which at laſt was got patch'd up with ſo little advantage to the Confederates, whoſe quarrel we made a ſhew to eſpouſe, that they have loſt more by the Peace than they had done by the War. And now one would have thought the new rais'd Army ſhould have been preſently Diſbanded; but as we us'd to ſay, It is eaſier to raiſe the Devil than to lay him again, ſo this Army that was got together by one Seſſions of Parliament, was hardly got diſſolv'd by two. But for this alſo there wanted not a pretence; That it was neceſſary to continue in Arms till our Neighbours had disbanded, and the Articles of the Peace (as to reſtoring of Towns, *&c.*) fulfilled. But by this time the Vizard was pull'd off the deſign, and every one ſaw it in its own complexion. For in the mean time had the moſt execrable Plot that ever was contrived in the World, been diſcovered; wherein having reſolv'd on the Murther of His Majeſty, aſſoon as that ſhould be accompliſh'd, and the D. of Y. ſhould arrive at the Crown, this Army, into which many

known Papiſts, but more, Popiſhly inclin'd, had already been thruſt (and which might have been model'd at pleaſure by the new Sovereign) was to have been employ'd in this moſt horrid villany. Not that by this alone they could compaſs their ends, though there had not been a man in it but what was devoted to their Intereſt (of which I believe there were many) but this was one ſtep towards the effecting the Tragedy of a Maſſacre. But beſides this open Force, they had liſted under-hand a greater, of which Dr. *Oates* his Narrative acquaints you with the chief Officers. But above all, their reliance was upon the *French*; who was now got clear of the Confederates, and was at leiſure to ſerve *their* ends and *his own* ambition. But by the good providence of God, none of thoſe weapons that were formed againſt His Majeſty proſper'd, but he ſtill remains alive the protector of our Religion, Lives and Liberties. Though if any of the Inſtruments they employ'd had diſpatcht him out of the way, they were not unprovided of a pretext to make the odium of it fall upon their greateſt enemies. An intimation of which they gave us in procuring Mr. *Claypoole* to be ſent to the Tower about that time, whoſe relation to *Cromwel* might make him to be preſumed the greater Confident of his party. It was ſuggeſted he ſhould ſay, That he and two hundred more had reſolved to kill the King. It matters not how ridiculous ſuch a Depoſition ſeems at this time of day; but if the King had been cut off before the Papiſts were ſuſpected or diſcover'd to have ſuch a deſign, there are enow who bear themſelves high upon the *name* of *Proteſtants*, that would

would ſooner have believed the Fanaticks to have committed the Fact, than the Papiſts, and would have been ready to have joyn'd with the Papiſts to their utter extirpation. And theſe Nominal Proteſtants are the men whoſe deſigns I ſhall now apply my ſelf to trace and diſcover.

The Long Parliament who firſt made a conſiderable enquiry into the Popiſh Plot being diſſolv'd, and the next that follow'd being by their ſudden diſſolution prevented from bringing thoſe to their Tryals that the former had committed; there ſprang a jealouſie in the hearts of many, that ſome about His Majeſty, who influenc'd his Counſels, were either themſelves concerned in the Plot, or had too great a kindneſs for thoſe that were, ſeeing they thus obſtructed the further diſcovery of it, and prevented the proſecution of the Conſpirators. But leſt this diſappointment ſhould prove fatal to His Majeſty, and give the Papiſts and their Adherents too much ſcope and opportunity of ſtill carrying on and perfecting their wicked deſigns, ſeveral worthy and Noble Peers out of their great affection to their Soveraign whom they apprehended in minutely danger, and zeal to the Proteſtant Religion and for the *Engliſh* Liberty, both which were bound up in His Majeſties Life, Petition'd His Majeſty for the Sitting of the Third, which was choſen, but not as yet Aſſembled. Thoſe that had advis'd the untimely diſſolution of the former, and the prorogation of this, were alarm'd hereupon, and poſſeſs His Majeſty that ſuch petitioning was tumultuous, and contrary to I know not what Law of King *James*, and adviſe him to prohibit it by Proclamation. At the

ſame

ſame time their little Emiſſaries were order'd to diſcourage it every where, and among the reſt Sir *George Jeffe ies* here in the City, who (as the Parliament in their Addreſs againſt him word it) "Well knowing that many of His Majeſties Loyal "Proteſtant Subjects, and particularly thoſe of His "Majeſties great and famous City of *London*, out of "Zeal for the preſervation of the Proteſtant Reli-"gion, His Majeſties Royal Perſon and Government, "and in hopes to bring the Popiſh Conſpirator to "ſpeedy Juſtice, were about to Petition to His "Majeſty in an humble, dutiful and legal way, for "the Sitting of this Parliament, the ſaid Sir *George* "*Jefferies* not regarding his duty to His Majeſty, or "the welfare of His People, did on purpoſe to ſerve "his own private ends, and to create a miſunder-"ſtanding between His Majeſty and His good Sub-"jects, though diſguiſed with pretence of Service "to hi Majeſty, maliciouſly declare ſuch petition-"ing, ſometimes to be Tumultuous, Seditious and "Illegal, and at other times did preſume publickly "to inſinuate and aſſert, as if His Majeſty would de-"prive His Citizens of *London* of their Charters, "and divers other Priviledges, Immunities and Ad-"vantages, and alſo of His Royal Favour, in caſe "they ſhould ſo Petition, *&c*] But notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, many Counties and Corporations did Petition the King to the purpoſe aforeſaid; which theſe Gentlemen not being able to prevent, they framed an Anti-petition, under the Notion of an Abhorrence, wherein they endeavoured as much as in them lay to induce his Majeſty to conceive a ſiniſter opinion of the honeſt and

humble

humble deſires of his moſt loving and loyal Subjects. And their inſinuation had that effect, that it was many Months ere the Parliament was permitted to Sit. In the mean time our Pulpits began to Echo with the Miſchiefs of Separation, the danger the Church and State were in from Fanaticks; *R. L'eſtrange* ſtruck up his Fiddle, and play'd us the Old Tune of Forty one; he induſtriouſly labour'd to bring the Witneſſes of the *Popiſh Plot* under ſuſpicion of combination and perjury; Sir *Robert Yeomans* and Sir *Robert Cann* of *Briſtol*, with *Thompſon* a perſon fit for their Chaplain, avowedly declare, that there was no *Popiſh Plot* but a *Presbyterian Plot*; and it has been the common Cry of the whole Herd from that time to this, That His Majeſty and the Church of *England* was and is in as great or greater danger from the Diſſenters than from the Papiſts. But notwithſtanding all the prejudice they endeavour'd to create in His Majeſty againſt his loving and faithful Subjects, he was ſo careful of his own and his people ſafety, as to aſſemble this long deſired Parliament in *October* 80. What opinion the Houſe of Commons had of our Abhorrers, as theſe Gentlemen have not yet forgotten, ſo they have given by-ſtanders ſome diverſion to obſerve how ever ſince they have reſented their treatment. We ſhall only obſerve what thanks the Commons conn'd *G.* Earl of *H.* who was believed to have a principal hand in diſſolving the laſt, and ſtaving off the ſitting of the preſent Parliament. In an Addreſs againſt him to the King they thus expreſs themſelves: *That being deeply ſenſible of the manifold dangers and miſchiefs, which have been occaſi-*

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oued to this Kingdom by the diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, and by the frequent Prorogation of this preſent Parliament, whereby the Papiſts have been greatly encouraged to carry on their Helliſh and damnable Conſpiracies againſt His Majeſties Royal Perſon and Government, and the Proteſtant Religion now eſtabliſh'd amongſt us, and have had many opportunities to contrive falſe and malicious Plots againſt the Lives and Honours of ſeveral of His Loyal Proteſtant Subjects; and having juſt reaſon to believe that the ſaid diſſolution was promoted by the evil and pernicious Counſels of G. *Earl of* Hallifax; *Do therefore moſt humbly pray his Majeſty* ——*That he would be graciouſly pleaſed to remove the ſaid* G. *Earl of* H. *from his preſence and counſels for ever.* But notwithſtanding this Addreſs he ſtill keeps his ſtation. Sir *Rob. Teomans* upon confeſſing the accuſation againſt him and begging pardon of the Houſe, is diſmiſt. But Sir *Rob. Cann* reviling his Accuſers, and eſpecially being a Parliament man, for him to be guilty of ſuch an expreſſion, was ſo great an aggravation, that being expell'd the Houſe, he is committed to the Tower. *Thompſon*'s puniſhment was prevented by the diſſolution of the Parliament.

And now the *Parliament* according to the direction of his Majeſty, vigorouſly proſecute the *Plot*, try all the waies and methods whereby his Majeſties ſafety might be enſur'd and Religion ſecur'd. As for themſelves, they preſent an Addreſs, declaring their reſolution to preſerve and ſupport the King's *Perſon* and *Government*, and the *Proteſtant Religion* both at home and abroad; for which the King thankt

thankt them heartily. As to the Plot, they appoint a Committee to inſpect and to take an Abſtract of the Journals of both Houſes, as to matters relating to it; upon the Report whereof they reſolve *Nemine contradicente, That the D. of* York's *being a Papiſt, and the hopes of his coming ſuch to the Crown, hath given the greateſt countenance and encouragement to the preſent deſigns and Conſpiracies againſt the King and Proteſtant Religion.*] And, *That in the defence of the King's Perſon and Government, and of the Proteſtant Religion, this Houſe doth declare, That they will ſtand by his Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes; and that if his Majeſty ſhall come by any violent Death (which God forbid) they will revenge it to the utmoſt upon the Papiſts.* Hereupon they bring in a Bill and paſs it, *for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion, by diſabling* James *D. of* York *to inherit the Imperial Crown of* England *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging*; but with a Proviſo, that it ſhould extend to the perſon of the Duke of *York* only. But the Lords rejecting this Bill, and thereby the moſt probable Expedient the Commons could think of, for the ſecurity of his Majeſty and the Proteſtant Religion being fruſtrated, they then in a Committee of the whole Houſe make theſe two Reſolves, Firſt, *That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That as long as the Papiſts have any hopes of the D. of* York's *ſucceeding the King in the Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging, the Kings Perſon, the Proteſtant Religion, and the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of all his Maje-*

ſties Proteſtant Subjects, are in apparent danger of being deſtroyed.] The Second, *That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That the Houſe be moved, nThat a Bill be brought in for an* Aſſociation *of all his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects, for the ſafety of his Majeſties Perſon, the defence of the Proteſtant Religion, and the preſervation of his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects againſt all Invaſions and Oppoſitions whatſoever; and for the preventing the Duke of* York, *or any Papiſt from ſucceeding to the Crown.*] To both which Reſolves the Houſe agreed. As to this Bill of *Aſſociation*, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak to it afterwards: but as to the Bill of *Excluſion*, we muſt ſay ſomething of it here, the rather, becauſe our late Addreſſes and Abhorrers have taken occaſion thence to revile this incomparably Loyal Houſe of Commons with endeavours of ſubverting the Government. And I ſhall demonſtrate both its *Legality*, its *Equity*, and its *Expediency*.

1. As to its *Legality*, I could never hear more than two things oppos'd, the *one*, that Kings holding their Crowns by right of *Primogeniture*, it is againſt the Law of Nature to put by the next Heir; the *other*, that it is againſt the Oath of *Allegeance*. The firſt is ſo ſilly an Allegation, that one would think no man that has heard of the ſeveral forms of Government in the World, or read the Hiſtory of his own Nation, could have the confidence to inſiſt upon it. In how many Kingdoms has force and violence and the longeſt Sword ſettled an abſolute Monarchy? How oft has that yoke been ſhak'd off, and the Government turn'd into

into a Free State? How many different models of both Monarchies and States are there at this day in the World? and yet none of them (that I know of) but are, and ought to be, own'd by the Subjects for lawful Governments, and *ſubmitted unto for the Lord's ſake.* If Princes held by this right, how impoſſible were it for them to make out their Title *ab origine*, if queſtioned? Or ſhall we ſay, that all States live contrary to the Law of Nature, becauſe they retain not this form of Government? What ſhall we ſay of God's giving the Kingdom of *Iſrael* to *Saul* of the Tribe of *Benjamin* the youngeſt of *Jacob*'s ſons, or to *David* the youngeſt of his Father's ſons, and of the Tribe of *Judah*, while none of *Reuben*'s Offſpring ever ſate upon the throne? Or if God may by prerogative diſpenſe with this Law, how came *David* to put *Adonijah* by the throne, and ſeat *Solomon* in it? Here in *England* King *William* 2. was King *William* 1. his third ſon, and yet was advanced to the Crown, and his eldeſt Brother *Robert* ſhamm'd off with a Dukedom. King *Stephen* ſucceeded *H.* 1. though that King had a daughter, *Maud* the Empreſs, then living, and *Stephen* had alſo an elder Brother, named *Theobald.* King *John* was admitted to the Crown, though his elder Brothers ſon was living. It were endleſs to give Inſtances both out of ſacred and prophane Hiſtory of the like nature. Away then with this extravagant fancy, and let the Soveraign Powers think their right ſufficiently proved by the Law of the Land, by their preſent quiet poſſeſſion, and the Allegeance of their Subjects. But now this

Oath of Allegeance is pretended not only to oblige thoſe that take it, to the preſent Soveraign, and to his lawful Succeſſors *after his deceaſe*, but even in his *life-time*. To this it is obvious to ſay, that it is a Soleciſm and Non-ſenſe to affirm that any one is a man's Heir or Succeſſor while himſelf lives; for the Succeſſor only commences ſuch at his Predeceſſor's death: And therefore he that intentionally ſwears Allegeance to the former in the life-time of the latter, is in plain terms a Trayter. For the plain intent and meaning of the Oath is no more than this, That ſeeing in Monarchies that are hereditary there is no *Interregnum*, but upon the death of the preſent Soveraign his Succeſſor is immediately inveſted in his power, it is prudently provided by this Oath that the Subjects Allegeance ſhall not be ſuſpended till the new Soveraign's Coronation, that thereby the mutual ſtipulation might be renewed: but as the Heir's entring upon the Government does imply that he accepts it upon the ſame conditions as his Predeceſſor held it; ſo does this Oath as effectually bind the Subject before the Coronation as after. And hereby are very great hazards and inconveniences prevented; for *Multa cadunt inter calicem ſupremaq; labra*; and the Coronation being uſually perform'd with great pomp and ceremony, many accidents may happen, before all things can be prepared for the Solemnity, that may require the utmoſt ſervice of the people, and therefore 'tis requiſite they ſhould in the mean time be under his command. But now all the queſtion is, Whether ſuch a particular man has ſo unalterable a right to be ſuch a ones Heir, that

that no *Crime* can forfeit that right, no *Power* annul it? What the *Crime* in our preſent caſe is, we ſhould better have known, if the haſty diſſolution of ſo many Parliaments, and a *Noli proſequi* had not hindred. But that we may reſolve this Query, let us make a Fiction of Caſe. Suppoſe the preſent King and his Anceſtors for ſeveral Generations ſincere and hearty profeſſors of the Proteſtant Religion, ſwearing at their Coronation that they will defend and protect it, as the moſt conſiderable branch of the Law of the Land. And ſuppoſe him that expects to be Heir, perverted from this to the Popiſh Religion, notwithſtanding the examples of his Anceſtors and the Commands of his Martyr'd Father to the contrary. Suppoſe his principal Servant and greateſt Confident braging of the apparent likelihood of *rooting out this peſtilent Northern Hereſie*, and of the zeal of his Maſter in the Cauſe; declaring that his Maſter's and a Neighbouring Monarch's Intereſt (the moſt dangerous enemy to his Country) are inſeparable. Suppoſe this Confident alſo actually engag'd in contriving the Murther of the preſent Monarch, to haſten his Maſter's coming to the Crown. Suppoſing all this, we can hardly imagine a Crime to be blacker, or a perſon more obnoxious to a ſuſpicion of deſigning the ſubverſion of the eſtabliſht Religion, and in it of the Government, if ever he ſhould be ſeated in the Throne. So that if *any* Crimes can be a ſufficient cauſe of Excluſion, or if *any* perſon can be put by his pretenſions to the Crown, *theſe* are the Crimes and *this* is the perſon that demerit it. And now let us conſi-

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der whether a Parliament have not a power to inflict ſuch a puniſhment on ſuch offences. It is from the Laws enacted by Parliament, that *ſuch a Fact* has *ſuch a puniſhment* awarded to it. That *Felonies* are puniſhed with Death, as well as *Murder*, (though it be otherwiſe in many Countries, and alſo by the Divine Law) That *Words* without any other Overt Act are as Treaſonable, and render the Speakers liable to the ſame death and like forfeit of Eſtate, as actual *Aſſaſſinating* the King would do. The Parliament can make ſaying that which in the nature of the thing is not impoſſible to be true, to be Treaſon. The King alone, to thoſe offences that by the Law deſerve death, can appoint baniſhment or perpetual impriſonment, *&c.* if they reſpect himſelf only; but if the people be intereſted, then can He with the two Houſes inflict what puniſhment they pleaſe. They can Attaint any man, or take off the Attainder, as they ſee good. They can legitimate a Baſtard, or illegitimate one that is born in lawful Wedlock. Of both we have Inſtances in Q. *Mary* and Q. *Elizabeth*, for both of them in 28 *H.* 8. were declared illegitimate, whereas one of them muſt needs be *legitimate*; and in 35 *H.* 8. they were both of them rendred inheritable to the Crown, which muſt needs be as much as legitimate, though one of them muſt neceſſarily be *illegitimate*, the latter being born, while the former's Mother was living. (For if according to the determination of the Univerſities domeſtick and foreign, the Brother, by the Law of God, might not Marry the Relict of his Brother, then King *Henry*'s Marriage with Queen

Queen *Mary*'s Mother, that had been his elder Brother Prince *Arthur*'s Wife, was unlawful and conſequently null in it ſelf *ab initio*, before the declaration of it in Parliament in *Anno* 24. of his Reign; or if it was not unlawful nor null, then muſt his Marriage with Queen *Elizabeths* Mother be certainly unlawful, and conſequently Queen *Elizabeth* illegitimate.) They can Divorce a man from his Wife for other cauſes than Adultery, ſo that the Parties ſhall be at liberty to Marry others, *Non obſtante* our Saviour's declaration as to the Jewiſh Oeconomy; yea, they can and have granted ſuch a power to Doctors Commons, that Impotency in the Man ſhall be a ſufficient cauſe for divorce or a nullity; as we had an Inſtance about four years ago in one *Rowley* and Mrs *Pitman* his wife (And by the way, if impotency be a ſufficient cauſe for diſſolving the ſacred tye of Marriage, becauſe the main end of Marriage, the propagating mankind, is thereby fruſtrated: it may be equally reaſonable to debar ſuch an one the Eſpouſal of the Government, as 'tis notorious before hand, is perverted to an utter incapacity of anſwering the ends of it.) And on the other ſide the Parliament can grant a divorce, if the Woman be incapable of generation: and ſo was *Henry* the eighth in the 32 year of his Reign divorced from his Queen the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, who ſurvived to the fourth year of Queen *Mary*, but the King married again within little more than a month after this divorce. But to proceed. The two Houſes can give away the whole Kingdom to the King, ſo as to make him

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ſole poſſeſſor of all; and He and they can diſpoſe of or alienate the Crown-lands, or any branch of the King's Revenue, as they pleaſe. They can baniſh any man, and make him in worſe condition than an Alien; and on the other hand can naturalize any Foreigner. In a word, they have an unbounded abſolute dominion over the Lives, Liberties and Eſtates of any *ſubject* in the Kingdom, and ſuch is every one but the King himſelf. We have had Inſtances of Queens being beheaded: in relation to which we ſhall not need to inquire whether they were really guilty of the Crimes laid to their charge; 'tis ſufficient to obſerve that ſuppoſing them guilty of the Crimes, they are not exempted from the puniſhment. And who is nearlier related to the King than ſhe that is one with him? who nearer allied to the priviledges of a Crown, than ſhe that has had it ſet upon her head? And if ſuch a one may be brought to the Scaffold, and die the deſerved death of a Traytor, as it is unreaſonbale for any other to expect to be excuſed, ſo could no man argue the high Court that condemn'd her to die, of Injuſtice, but rather admire their lenity and mercy, if they ſhould mitigate the puniſhment, into a baniſhment from the Kingdom, from the Rights of a Queen and of a Conſort. They that have power to inflict the greateſt puniſhment, cannot be denied the priviledge of aſſigning what commutation they pleaſe. And as they are the only competent Judges what offences are and ought to be eſteemed Capital; ſo if they ſhall judge the Crime before them of an inferiour nature, they may proportion the puniſhment at their

their diſcretion. As to our preſent caſe, we have not (as I intimated above) had the advantage to be fully informed of the Crime, and ſo cannot paſs an eſtimate of its demerit: But if it amounted to ſo much as I have ſuppoſed, (or may be more) as it does in it ſelf deſerve, ſo have I ſhewn that the Parliament have a power to puniſh it with, (at leaſt) an Excluſion from the Government. And thus much for the *Legality* of the Fact.

2. And as it is *lawful*, ſo is it an Act of the greateſt *Equity* and juſtice in the world. For though it be very laudable and a duty for private men to forgive private injuries, and to do good for evil: yet offenders and offences againſt the Government, and the publick weal, are of another nature and conſideration. Thus if a man aſſault my perſon, wound my reputation, treſpaſs on my ground, or the like, it will argue a Chriſtian temper and conformable to the holy Laws and example of our Saviour, to paſs it by without requiring ſatisfaction or reparation. But now if one Prince make an In-road into anothers Country, and make ſpoil therein, ſatisfaction ought to be demanded and exacted both by divine and humane Laws. Or if any man or number of men endeavour the murther of the King, the ſubverſion of the Government, or the like: in theſe caſes the old Law ſtill takes place, *An Eye for an Eye, and a tooth for a tooth.* Nay, if the deſign be laid and reſolv'd upon, though not to be put in execution till after ſome diſtance of time, 'tis juſt to treat the deſigners at the ſame rate as if they were actually engag'd in the fact. Thus if one Prince has certain information

by ſome of another Prince's Cabinet Council, that that other is preparing to Invade him: it is juſt and lawful by the Law of Nations that he ſhould firſt enter with an Army into that other Prince's Territories, and by making the ſeat of War there, to hinder the devaſtation of his own. And thus the *imagining* the King's death, or entring into conſultation how to *compaſs* it, is as capital an offence as actual perpetrating the villany. In like manner if he that pretends to the ſucceſſion, be a perſon, that is already engag'd in a deſign to alter the Government, that by the accurſed tye of his deluded Conſcience, and the deſtructive principles of his Religion has given certain notice that he thinks himſelf obliged to extirpate the Religion eſtabliſht, and to perſecute the reſolved adherers to it to the death; what in the whole world is more equitable and *moderately* juſt, than that this perſon ſhould be incapacitated from doing all this evil, by preventing his acceſſion to the Throne, which he will thus defile with blood and profane with damnable Hereſie?

3. And as to its *Expedency* or policy, every man certainly muſt be convinced of that, that values his Religion, Life or Liberty. And here a man could not but ſmile (if the matter we are a ſpeaking of, were not ſo ſerious) at the impertinence of ſome of *L'Eſtrange's* Clergy, and others, that can object that a Bill of Excluſion is againſt our Religion; 'tis obvious what Religion they mean: For *Chriſt's* it cannot be, who came not to *divide inheritances*, and modulate the Civil Conſtitutions of Kingdoms: *Render to* Cæſar *the things that are* Cæſars, is a plain demonſtration that he intended not to give Laws to Go-

Governments. And if theſe Gentlemen can think that any command or example in the Old Teſtament countenance their aſſertion, though I could never hear of any one, yet who knows not but that *our* Nation and all *other* Chriſtian Kingdoms, have alwaies thought themſelves no further oblig'd by the Civil Conſtitutions of the Jews, than they have tranſlated them into thoſe of their reſpective Countries? But neither is it contrary to that Religion that *theſe* Blades are *truly* of, and hope one day to profeſs publickly: For though the Papiſts have made themſelves merry with traducing that opinion of the Puritans, *That Dominion is founded in Grace*; yet it is notorious that they hold the ſame opinion themſelves. Every one that is verſt in their Writings (or has read thoſe of our own) muſt needs obſerve it to be their conſtant doctrine, that no Heretical King (and ſuch is every one with them, that is not a Roman Catholick) has any right to rule, but the Pope may depoſe him and give his Kingdom to whom he will. I mean not here to defend the Puritans opinion, eſpecially in that ſence to which it is wreſted by ſome; but I ſay, the Argument is very ſtrong and cogent *ad hominem*, That ſeeing in their own opinion a Proteſtant has no right to rule, becauſe they believe him to be an Heretick; We may very well be permitted to prevent a Papiſt from ruling, who we are ſure is the moſt damn'd Heretick in the World. And it is reaſonable that men of our belief and conſtitution ſhould as confidently acquieſce in an Act of Parliament, as a Papiſt ſhould on the Bull of a Pope. Beſides, there is ſomething in this that may well be referr'd to the former head of *Equity*, ſeeing

 ---*Non*

——— *Non Lex eſt juſtior ulla,*
Quam necis artifices arte perire ſua.

No juſter Law, than that a man be try'd
By Laws which he'd have others to abide.

For there is no reaſon in the world a man ſhould take advantage of a principle, which he will not allow that others ſhould likewiſe improve to *their* own benefit.

It was an oracular ſaying of a bad man, *It is expedient that one man die for the people:* I will not blaſpheme my Saviour with comparing the perſon now under conſideration to Him, nor mean to caſt an imputation upon the Houſe of Common, for concurring with *Caiaphas*'s advice (though being High-Prieſt that year he ſpoke as one inſpir'd from Heaven) but taking the words abſtractedly, without conſideration of the Speaker or the Perſon ſpoken of, nothing can be imagined more honeſtly and reaſonably politick; and if applied to the caſe in hand, nothing more expedient. For when matters are come to this paſs, that *either* a Nation in *general* muſt be deprived of all that is dear to them, their Religion, their Liberties, and it may be their Lives, *or* that *one* man that will be the Author of all this miſchief, muſt be put out of a capacity to effect it, though by excluding him from a Right which otherwiſe he were intitled to; it needs not much deliberation what courſe to take, ſeeing I have already proved that to reſolve upon this latter is not contrary to *Law*, is moſt conſonant to *Equity*, and

and above all, the moſt *expedient*. Which laſt conſideration I ſhall purſue no further, being ſo excellently done already in *The Character of a Popiſh Succeſſor*.

Having thus vindicated the paſſing of the Bill of *Excluſion*, I have in doing ſo detected the deſigns and intereſts thoſe have eſpouſed, that have on this account calumniated theſe Honourable and Loyal Senators with endeavours to ſubvert the Government eſtabliſht, with Republican deſigns, with the Nick-name of *Presbyterians*, and all that's odious. His Majeſty indeed has, the natural affection towards a Brother, his incomparable lenity of diſpoſition, and his conſciouſneſs of having deſerved ſo infinitely of thoſe that ſeek his ruine, that he cannot eaſily believe there can be ſo monſtrous ingratitude in nature; I ſay he has all theſe to Apologize for his not giving countenance to the Bill, and to keep Him in the good opinion of his Loyal Subjects: But for others that have none of theſe colour'd Glaſſes to look through, they may indeed affirm, as they do, that white is black, but they lie againſt the truth and their own eyes, and prove nothing with all their confident clamour, but that they are well pleas'd at the King's danger, and triumph in the hopes of a Succeſſor for their turn. This will be more plain by and by, when I come to examine the *Addreſſes*, which will alſo give us occaſion to obſerve the perverſe conſtruction they give of the Act for repealing 35 *Eliz.*

This Parliament indeed deſerves the heavieſt cenſure for ſtriking down ſo ſtrong a pillar of the Cauſe as the Lord *Stafford*, when one and thirty Lords had

had ſet to their ſhoulders to ſupport it. Loſers may have leave to ſpeak, and we'll hear what they can ſay, when we have taken a turn to *Oxford*

This Seſſion continued almoſt three months, and brought forth but three living Acts, a fourth was ſtill-born and never ſaw the light. After a prorogation for a few dayes this Parliament was diſſolved, and another called to aſſemble at *Oxford*; that ſeeing *Piſgah* had proved ſo unfortunate, it might be tryed whether *Peor* would be more favourable. It was fit the people ſhould be minded of his Majeſties Prerogative; and whatever private reaſons the King might have for it, the ſubject had a ſatisfactory reaſon when they underſtood their Sovereign *would have* it ſo. Some inſinuated to his Majeſty that it was ominous; but He was not ſo ſuperſtitious as to apprehend any danger in going thither, tho' perhaps too apprehenſive of it ſince his return back. There was a great concourſe of people, many going thither in complement to their Members, many meerly out of curioſity, being invited with the Novelty; and ſome (perhaps) over ſagacious, to defend the Aſſembly, if they ſhould be aſſaulted by the Papiſts. The Houſe of Commons declared to all the world (as the Speaker expreſt it in his Speech at his preſentment to the King) *that they were not given to change*; which was true as he meant it, ſeeing he had been Speaker too in the laſt Parliament; but was alſo prophetical, for they ſtill purſued the ſame means for preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion and the King's perſon. The Bill of Excluſion that paſt the Houſe the laſt Parliament, is ſtill eſteemed the only thing that can do it. Sir *L. J.* condemns

demns it of injuſtice, irreligion, perjury (which I think I have ſufficiently vindicated it from:) but it was obſerved he had no body to ſecond him, his objections were ſuch down-right Cant. Others of the Duke's friends finding the Houſe abſolutely of opinion that it was lawful, endeavour to ſtave it off by offering an Expedient that might as well anſwer the ends of that Bill, and not be ſubject to ſuch incoveniencies. And that was, That the Duke ſhould have the title of King, but the Regency or adminiſtration of the Kingly power, ſhould be in the next Heir. A pretty wheedle! as if by granting the *Name* to the immediate ſucceſſor and thereby declaring that the right was in him, would not give him a fairer pretence and opportunity of uſurping the *Power* likewiſe, than if he were excluded the title as well as adminiſtration. Beſides, this Expedient is founded on this bottom, it muſt ſuppoſe him to be either an intolerable knave or a perfect fool, a deſperate Villain or a Madman. His greateſt enemies would acquit him of the latter imputation, and his friends from the former, ſo that the Perſon and the Power would ſoon be piec'd together. Sir *F. W.* ſaid, that ſeeing an Act of Parliament againſt common ſence is void, and that it were a contradiction and non-ſenſe to make a man King and not to ſuffer him to exerciſe Kingly power; if ſuch an Act ſhould paſs, it would ſignifie nothing, unleſs it were to ſhew that the Houſe of Commons were out-witted. It was clearly carried therefore that it was ſafer, nay that it was abſolutely neceſſary, that the old Bill of Excluſion ſhould be inſiſted on.

But

But there was another buſineſs in this Parliament that made as great a controverſie, and which occaſioned the ſpeedy diſſolution of it. *Edw. Fitz-Harris* had hired Mr. *Everard*, to draw up a treaſonable libel in the name of the Nonconformiſts, (giving him inſtructions for it) which was to be printed and ſent about by the Penny-poſt to the Proteſting Lords, and the Leading men of the Houſe of Commons, *&c.* who were to be taken up aſſoon as they had it, upon hopes that upon ſearch it might be found about them. This ſham-plot being diſcovered to authority, *Fitz-Harris* was ſeis'd on, and committed to *Newgate*; where inclining to confeſs the bottom of the deſign, he was tranſmitted to the Tower. Sir *R. C.* and Sir *G. T.* give information of his confeſſion that he had made to them, to the Houſe. "Whereupon "the Houſe Reſolve, That the ſame *Edw. Fitz-* "*Harris* be impeached of High Treaſon, in the "name of all the Commons of *England*, and that "Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* do go up, and Impeach "him at the Barr of the Lords Houſe. But the Lords refuſed to proceed upon this Impeachment, and directed that he ſhould be proceeded againſt at the Common Law. This the Commons Reſolve to be a denial of Juſtice, a violation of the Conſtitution of Parliaments, an obſtruction to the further diſcovery of the Plot, and of great danger to his Majeſties perſon and the Proteſtant Religion. And indeed (not to mention that the Biſhops intermeddled in rejecting the Impeachment, in which caſe being Capital they had no right to Vote) when the Upper Houſe had made no ſcruple in the former Par-

Parliament of receiving the Impeachment againſt the Lord Chief Juſtice *Scroggs* (a Commoner) it was plain what conſiderations influenc'd them at this time to be of another opinion. However about twenty there were that proteſted againſt this rejection, and eſteemed the Commons demand of Juſtice there, to be reaſonable and juſt, and ſuch as ought to have been granted. But a ſpeedy diſſolution ſoon reconciled this difference, and *Weſtminſter-Hall* has ſince determin'd the controverſie.

And thus having given a ſhort account of the buſineſſes agitated and the manner of proceeding in theſe two Parliaments, we ſhall be able to make the truer eſtimate of the grounds upon which ſome have made ſo bold to traduce them.

The Members were ſcarcely got home, but out comes a *Declaration*, charging them with *unwarrantable* and *arbitrary* proceedings: but giving aſſurance, that his Majeſty would call frequent Parliaments, that he would make the Laws the Rule of his Government, and that he would maintain the Religion eſtabliſht. *Many* begin to long for the performance of the firſt promiſe, that would not doubt of the two latter from ſo good and gracious a King, and ſo hearty a Proteſtant. But *others* by magnifying and inculcating the King's Prerogative of calling Parliaments *when* and where he pleaſe, ſeem willing to perſwade Him, He may be diſpenſed with in the breach of it. Not that theſe are *greater Friends* to the Prerogative than the other, but they care *leſs* for Parliaments that alone can enable the King to uphold the Religion and the Government.

Out of Complement to this Declaration are *Addreſſes* preſented from all hands; *ſome* indeed containing nothing but thanks for the gracious promiſes therein contained, ſuch was that from *Warwickſhire, &c.* the *moſt*, only a Declaration that they mean to keep their Oath of Allegeance in being true and faithful to the King, his Heirs and lawful Succeſſors: And theſe truly were *dignum patella operculum*, That when his Majeſty had promiſed nothing but what he had oblig'd himſelf to at his Coronation, by a more ſacred tye; theſe to expreſs their acknowledgment of the favour, barely ſay what they had formerly ſwore to. All this ſort of Addreſſers might e'en as well have let the matter reſted, and have concurr'd with the City of *Lincoln* in their opinion, who (in their Addreſs) ſay, they *thought there was no better way of expreſſing their Faith and true Allegeance to his Majeſties moſt Sacred Perſon, and their grateful ſenſe of His excellent Government, than a peaceable and quiet demeanour in their ſeveral Callings and Stations, an humble ſubmiſſion to acquieſce in his Majeſties good and wholſom Laws, relating to the Government both of Church and State, and a readineſs, as oft as his Majeſty in his Princely wiſdom judges fit to call a Parliament, to chooſe ſuch Members as they conceive to be perfectly devoted to his Majeſties Service, and the welfare of the Church and State, as now by Law eſtabliſhed, without intermedling with the Calling or Diſſolving of them*] though even theſe that thought thus, that they might follow the faſhion, play the fool for company, as themſelves render the reaſon of their Addreſs. And it muſt certainly be from the *impertinence*

nence of this ſort, that the Inns of Court, thoſe Fountains of Law and Loyalty, diſdain'd to ſerve up any ſuch *Crambe*; and thoſe two famous and *Mother* Cities, *London* and *York*, look'd on and had the diverſion to ſee their *Children* act like ſuch.

But if we have any reaſon to queſtion the *diſcretion* of *theſe* Addreſſers, we have much more cauſe to ſuſpect the *honeſty* of the *following*. This kind are continually a bawling out *Whore* to others, that they may have a Monopoly of the Trade themſelves. *You arraign, you aſperſe the Government, you reflect on Authority*, is their general accuſation; whilſt they do the ſame things avowedly in the face of the Sun. Thus *Ripon* account it a *matter of the higheſt joy and ſatisfaction, that they are deliver'd from the unwarrantable proceedings of the Houſe of Commons.* If they have indeed proceeded *unwarrantably*, let his Majeſty and They fairly diſpute it in God's name at their next Meeting: but what have theſe Scoundrels, a Parſon's Son and a company of Spur-makers, to do with it? The one might learn from his Father to keep to his Text, and the others from the Boot-maker to look to their Laſts, without calumniating an eſſential part of the Government. Yet the term *unwarrantable* is ſomewhat modeſt tho'; now enter jingling *Will* with his *Myrmidons*, complaining, that *the Houſe of Commons made uſe of an Arbitrary and Illegal power, to the great prejudice of his Majeſties Loyal Subjects, contrary to the known Laws of this Kingdom, and to the diſcouragement of the Members of that Houſe, and all other Loyal Students and Practiſers of the Laws* A little diſcouragement will ſerve their turn, God knows! and if they want a

better pretence for their Idleneſs, they are welcom to this, let them take what courſe they pleaſe; I'll warrant 'em neither *Grey*'s Inn nor *Weſtminſter-Hall* will lament the loſs or much want their company. However we muſt acknowledge them good Proficients for their ſtanding; for they *know* more *Laws of the Kingdom*, than the oldeſt man of their Houſe. They had done well to have particularized the Laws and the Offences; however becauſe the whole Gang are acted by the ſame Spirit, we may inform our ſelves at leaſt of the latter from *Cheſterfield*, who return *Loyal thanks for his Majeſties Diſſolving the Parliament, and thereby preſerving them from the late growing Uſurpation, of Arbitrary Government, by impriſoning his Majeſties Subjects*, &c. *Manet alta mente repoſtum Judicium Paridis*, &c. This uſurping Parliament lodg'd five Friends in the Tower for nothing elſe but deſigning to murther the King and to alter the Government in Church and State; Another honeſt Proteſtant, for ſaying there was no Popiſh, but a Presbyterian Plot. O Crimes unpardonable! A third ſort were committed to the Serjeants Ward for betraying the liberty of the Subject, and contributing to the deſign of ſubverting the ancient legal Conſtitution of this Kingdom and introducing Arbitrary Power. O Uſurpation! O Arbitrarineſs! But what ſhall we think of *them* that inſinuate their belief of the King's being in more danger of the Parliament, than of either Papiſts or Presbyterians? Enter *Weobley* and *Richmond*. *Weobley: We ſhall ſtill acknowledge God's goodneſs in bleſſing us with a Prince who ſo prudently foreſaw* the ruin of Your Self and us, *which muſt have been expected from ſuch un-*

unparallel'd Miſchiefs which were threatned, if they had not been timely prevented (by Diſſolving the Parliament.) Richmond, *We Your moſt dutiful*, &c. *preſent to Your Sacred Majeſty, from our Hearts, a more thankful acknowledgement for your moſt gracious late Declaration, than we can in any words expreſs: whereby you have aſſured unto us, the preſervation of our Religion, Liberties and Properties, that were* all lately like to have been ſwallowed up in monſtrous confuſion, *if the ſpecial Spirit of God had not inſpired Your Heart to prevent it.* Here not to mention the imputation of Enthuſiaſm caſt upon His Majeſty, which ſuch a Maſter of Reaſon wouldb e aſham'd to pretend to, what is the ſcope of both theſe Addreſſes but to work His Majeſty into an apprehenſion of Treaſonable and Rebellious Deſigns againſt His Perſon and the Government carried on by Two Parliaments, than which none ever expreſt a greater care and providence for the preſervation of both? This is the only ſaving Card that the men of this Intereſt have to play, to make the King jealous and fearful of his Parliaments, and conſequently to breed a diffidence in them of Him, that the foundations of the Government being renderd thus unſteady, they may upon a favourable juncture overturn it, and erect their own new Model. And to accompliſh this deſign, 'tis not only the method of theſe whiffling Boroughs already mentioned and of others I might recite, (as *Weymouth*, *Thetford*, &c.) but of deeper heads: The Univerſity of *Cambridge* it ſelf reflecting on theſe Parliaments, ſpeaks of them in theſe terms: *That factious and malicious men have*

not proceeded to plunder and ſequeſtration, to violate our Chapels, rifle our Libraries and empty our Colledges as once they did, next to the over-ruling providence of God, is only due to the Royal care and prudence of Your ſacred Majeſty, who gave ſo ſeaſonable a check to their arbitrary and inſolent undertaking.]

What could be ſpoken more malicious, or what, if his Majeſty could be induc'd to believe it true, could poſſibly tempt him more to reſolve never to put himſelf into the danger of the like Aſſembly? And that we need not queſtion their deſire and deſign os caſhiering Parliaments, they take upon themſelves a power of repealing an Act of Parliament; for they make bold to affirm, *That no Religion, no LAW, no fault or forfeiture can alter the Succeſſion:* whereas the Statute of 13 *Eliz.* has made it Treaſon to *affirm that the LAWS and Statutes made in Parliament do not bind the Right of the Crown, and the deſcent, limitation, inheritance and governance thereof.* It were needleſs to recite the like aſſertions in other Addreſſes, for theſe are enow to convince any man of the deſign, that is not engag'd in it; and thoſe that are, will never be convinc'd but by a Parliament which in due time may perſwade them to recant. And to make his Majeſty more favourable to their purpoſe, and leſt his *Wants* and neceſſities ſhould be ſtronger Arguments to Him for aſſembling a Parliament (the only Legal means of ſupplying them) than *their Inſinuations* for ſtaving him from it, they firſt accuſe the late *Seſſions for unreaſonably obſtructing his Majeſties demands of ſupplies of money* (ſo *Northumberland*) and then to put Him into a readier method of furniſhing himſelf, the County Pa-

Palatine of *Durham* in their late *Anti-Aſſociations*, as they call it, thus expreſs themſelves: [*And that we may not only verbally expreſs our Loyalty, we do as in Duty and Allegiance bound give this Aſſurance, That our Lives and Fortunes ſhall be ready, and that we will* CONTRIBUTE MONEY *to our uttermoſt Abilities, when ever your Majeſties occaſions ſhall require.*] No mention at all of a Parliament, but both by the *words* and the whole *ſcope* and drift of this Addreſs, it is plain, they mean a voluntary *Contribution*, whenever His Majeſty ſhall ſignifie that his occaſions require it. Thus by theſe few paſſages we ſee how induſtriouſly they are engaged in carrying on the *leading* half of the Popiſh Plot, *viz. Arbitrary Government*; we ſhall next inquire what aſſiſtance they afford the *following* half, to wit, the extirpating the Proteſtant Religion and introducing of Popery. And I doubt not but to make it appear, they are thorough pac'd in this alſo.

In the Parliament that began *Octob.* 21. 1680. there were two Bills that had each two Readings, and were Committed upon the debate of the Houſe; the one, for Uniting of his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects; the other, for exempting his Majeſtie's Proteſtant Subjects diſſenting from the Church of *England*, from the Penalties of certain Laws: whether they would have paſſed or no is uncertain, however they were quaſh'd by the Prorogation of the Parliament. But there was a third Bill which paſſed both Houſes, intitled, An Act for the Repeal of a Statute made in the thirty fifth year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. As the late Long Parliament repealed

pealed the Statute *de Hæretico comburendo*, for feat. if Popery ſhould once again get the upper hand, it would be executed upon Proteſtants as it was in Queen *Marys* daies; ſo this preſent Parliament, foreſeeing that this Act of Queen *Elizabeth*, that was made againſt the *Trowniſts* and *Barrowiſts* of thoſe daies (as appears in the Journals of Parliament of that Queen lately publiſhed by Mr. *Starkey*) was likely to be perverted to the ruin of the Eſtates, Liberties and (it might be) Lives of Proteſtants in the daies of a Popiſh Succeſſor; and thinking it prudent to provide even againſt the *preſent* dangers from the Common Enemy the Papiſts, by bearing a gentler hand over the diſſenting Proteſtants, (on whom this Act was in part executed) and thereby uniting them more firmly in Intereſt and Affection with the Church of *England*; I ſay, upon theſe conſiderations this preſent Parl. thought fit to repeal that Act of 35 *Eliz.* But at the end of the Seſſions, when this Bill ſhould have been preſented (with the others that were expedited) unto his Majeſty for his approbation and paſſing it into an Act, there was no ſight or tydings of it. By whoſe default it was thus ſmother'd, there has been no opportunity ſince to find out. However ſome of our late Addreſſers throw the odium of it upon his Majeſty, telling him, *That he was unwilling to paſs his Royal Aſſent to any Act which may repeal that of* 35 Eliz. (Vide *Kents* Addreſs.) How theſe Gentlemen come to underſtand the King's mind in this caſe, I know not: Sure I am, it is very unlikely but his Majeſty would have paſſed this Bill recommended with the concurrent advice and conſent of both Lords and Commons,

mons, if it had been tendred to Him, ſeeing he has alwaies profeſt ſo great a regard to tender Conſciences, and himſelf from his own motion granted them an *Indulgence* againſt this and ſeveral other Acts of Parliament, which every one may remember how difficultly he was prevailed with by the Parliament to retract, ſaying he was *reſolved to ſtand by it* But theſe men would have it believ'd that He's now otherwiſe inclin'd; and beſides, if their Inſinuations of his Majeſties command to ſtifle it were true, it were palpable that He had ſhaken the very *Conſtitution* of Parliaments, according to which all Bills that have paſt both Houſes, ought to be preſented to his Majeſty. But no truly Loyal Subject will believe ſo gracious a King capable of being perverted to ſo great an Invaſion of the Rights or breach of the Rules of Parliament, let ſuch *ill-deſigning* flatterers ſuggeſt what they pleaſe. But where ever the fault of this miſcarriage lay, our Addreſſers were heartily glad of it, and Petition the King that he will put this Act of 35 *Eliz.* in execution, *for the ſafety of the Church, his Majeſties Sacred Perſon and Government.* (So *Ripon*, *Suſſex*, &c.) They accuſe the Two Houſes as *enemies* to our *Church and Religion*, which they endeavour'd to *undermine* and *ruine* when they went about to Repeal this Act, which is a *chief Bulwark of both.* (So *Holland* in *Lincolnſhire.*) Now one would think, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, better knew what would maintain *our Religion* than theſe men: but the truth is, *our Religion* is not the ſame with the Parliament and *them*, and ſo no marvel if what will maintain the one's, would *ruine* the other's. They call *their* Religion *that* which is *eſtabliſht by Law*, and this they will defend with their Lives and Fortunes: In this profeſſation the rankeſt Papiſt in *England* will joyn with them, believing *Magna Charta* to be the firmeſt Law, and Popery to ſtand as unſhaken thereupon as an Houſe founded upon a Rock, for all the blaſts and billows of (ſuppos'd) Heroical Kings and Parliaments, all whoſe Acts and Ordinances againſt Holy Church, a Papiſt reckons to be in themſelves void. And conſidering all the circumſtances, even a *charitable* man may be pretty

confident that this expreſſion [Religion eſtabliſh'd by Law] is commonly us'd in this ſence, when he obſerves that a Gentleman preſum'd to be no very zealous Proteſtant, in a late Print is repreſented as promiſing to ſtand by it, and to endeavour to preſerve it. (But this by the way.) Hence it is that our Addreſſers *account it matter of higheſt* Joy *and* Satisfaction *to underſtand the King's reſolution to maintain the Succeſſion of the Crown in its due and legal courſe of Deſcent.* Oh how it tickles their fancies, to have hopes of a Popiſh Succeſſor! So *Ely* cannot but *REJOYCE to find His Majeſty expreſly profeſſing himſelf in his own Royal Judgment ſo nearly concerned in Honour, Juſtice and Conſcience to preſerve the rightful Succeſſion of the Crown in its Legal deſcent.* Thus *Northumberland* do with the *greateſt TRANSPORT of JOY and THANKFULNESS return His Majeſty their moſt humble and expreſs acknowledgment for oppoſing with ſuch incomparable reſolution the* Arbitrary *and* unnatural proceedings *againſt the undoubted right of his Succeſſion in the perſon of his Royal Brother, the greateſt* Example *of* Truſt, Duty *and* Obedience *to his ſacred Majeſty.* They would almoſt perſuade one, this Royal Brother abſented himſelf from the King's Chapel in obedience to his Majeſties Command: or elſe they will give the Diſſenters leave to ſtyle themſelves his Majeſties moſt *dutiful* and *obedient* Subjects, in imitating ſo great an Example.——But to the Point. I ſaid above, that the prejudices of natural affection, *&c.* that the King is byaſſed by, may permit him to ſtand fair in the opinion of hearty *Proteſtants*, notwithſtanding his oppoſing the Bill of Excluſion; and this entailing a Popiſh Succeſſour, might be *matter* of their *patience* and *ſubmiſſion:* but to be ſo *tranſported with Joy* hereupon, as our Addreſſers expreſs themſelves to be, is a plain token they never intend to be burnt for Hereticks when ſuch a one comes to the Crown, but *will* (with *Derbyſhire*, &c.) *moſt heartily, to the utmoſt expence both of their Lives and Fortunes, aſſiſt, ſupport, maintain and defend ſuch a Succeſſor, with the Regalia's and Prerogatives of his Crown, and the Religion and Government both of Church and State as eſtabliſht by Law.* I believe theſe Gentlemen are not ſo de-

deveſted of Fleſh and Blood, nor have ſo perfectly learn'd of the Apoſtle *to rejoyce in tribulation*, but that Fire and Faggot would drive them into ſadder apprehenſions, if they knew not of a *Trick* to eſcape them. But *this* is the ground of their Triumph, that in ſuch an ones Reign they ſhall be able to take a fuller revenge on the Schiſmatical Dogs, than the preſent mild Laws and *more* indulgent Prince will permit them. Who ſees not how their fingers itch to be at it, that obſerves their illegal and inhumane treatment of honeſt and peaceable Proteſtants at *Briſtol*, &c. even whilſt Laws to puniſh them for ſuch barbarities, are in force? to what Cruelties then will not their Fury carry them, when it ſhall be encourag'd and ſpurr'd on by Law, and the Commands of a Jeſuited King?

What ſhall I ſay of their preferring Popery before Preſbytery; of their accounting *Calvin* a worſe man than *Ignatius Loyola*, and his Doctrines more (or at leaſt as) pernicious? What conſtruction can a man put upon their incredulouſneſs of a *Popiſh* Plot, that has been ſo ſufficiently atteſted to be *real*; while they profeſs their firm belief of a *Preſbyterian* Plot, that has twice at leaſt been detected by the King and Council to be *forg'd* and *Fictitious* (in the caſes of *Dangerfield* and *Fitz-Harris*) and was never yet believ'd by any Jury? What rejoycings at the acquittal of *Wakeman*, *Gaſcoyne*, &c. and what applauſe of the fairneſs of their Tryals! but when a Proteſtant comes to be acquitted, where is the man amongſt them that (ſhall I ſay) is glad, nay, that does not (with *Durham* in their Anti-Aſſociation) complain of *packt Juries*, and (with the *Middle-Templers*) of Juries *perverting the Laws, and uſurping to themſelves an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Dominion?* Which of them exclaims not preſently like *Norfolk* againſt *partial Grand Juries, ſuch as can violate their Oaths, to procure impunity for Treaſon, and think it merit to affront and oppoſe the Government?* Into what Tory's Heart ever did it enter, or which of their Tongues ever made the motion, to *Abhor* the moſt damnable *Conſpiracy* of the Papiſts, to Murther the King, Maſſacre his Subjects, and ſubvert the Proteſtant Religion? but when a *Sham-Aſſociation*, and yet

that only to *prevent* a Popiſh Succeſſour's coming to the Crown, is obtruded upon the World; then, nothing but Death and the Cobler, Treaſon! Rebellion! Can ſuch men think any man ſo blind as not to ſee how they ſtand affected? 'Twere needleſs to obſerve how generally they have got by heart *Thompſon's* two Letters to prove Sir *Ed. Godfry* Murthered himſelf, and of what weight thoſe abſurd and contradictory ſuggeſtions ſeem to them; what impreſſions the dying Jeſuits Speeches have made upon their Conſciences, and how charitably ſcrupulous they are grown: whilſt they queſtion not but *Colledge* dyed with a Lye in his mouth. What *Clergy-man* that has taken *L'eſtrange* for his Guide (and thoſe are more than a good many) that will confeſs the Pope to be Anti-Chriſt, or the Church of *Rome* to be Idolatrous; let *Uſher*, *Mede*, *Moore*, *Stillingfleet*, &c. demonſtrate it never ſo plainly? They muſt needs acknowledge, they'l tell you, that there are many corruptions in the Church of *Rome*, BUT, what Conſtitution is without them? They will profeſs their deſires of an Accommodation, though they certainly know, that if ſuch a thing ever be, Proteſtantiſm muſt be ſwallowed up in Popery; for the Church of *Rome*, as ſuch, cannot recede from one tittle of their preſent Confeſſion, unleſs they would let go the very foundation of it, their pretence to *Infallibility*. In a word, ſhew me the Tory, Clergy or Lay, that will not call the Parliament a Faction, eſteem the D. a Saint, affirm the Scarcrow of Schiſm (upon the Punctilio's of Ceremonies) to be a greater evil than any at this Day tolerated in the Church of *Rome*, and the *five* Points agreed upon at the Synod of *Dort*, more deſtructive doctrine than any of the Conventicle at *Trent*.

I will not deſcend to the Speeches or actions of particular perſons; for as that would be *tedious*, ſo I ſhould think my ſelf *injurious*, to charge upon the whole Gang the Extravagancies of a few. But the affirmations, opinions and demeanour that I have enumerated and deſcribed, are ſo common to all of them that I have converſed with, and are ſo truely and properly characteriſtical, that none can call me unjuſt, or ſay that I have miſrepreſented them. Upon the

the whole matter therefore, I appeal to the judgment of any unprejudic'd man, whether the perſons I have been ſpeaking of, be not deſigning enemies of the Power, Priviledges and Freedom of Engliſh Parliaments; and whether from their *tranſport of joy* at the likelihood of a Popiſh Succeſſor, &c. they be not apparently Well-wiſhers unto Popery.

It remains that we ſpeak a word or two of the Bill of *Aſſociation*. We obſerved above that when the Bill of *Exclusion* was rejected by the Lords, there was another agreed by the Commons to be brought in, (*Dec.* 15. 80.) *for the Aſſociating of all his Majeſties Proteſtant ſubjects, for the ſafety of his Majeſties perſon, the defence of the Proteſtant Religion*, &c. *and for the preventing the Duke of* York *or any Papiſt, from ſucceeding to the Crown.* And about five dayes after, in an Addreſs to his Majeſty, they humbly *petition* him, *That when a Bill ſhould be tendred to his Majeſty in a* Parliamentary *way, to diſable the Duke of* York *from inheriting the Crown, his Majeſty would give his Royal Aſſent thereto; And as neceſſary to fortifie and defend the ſame, that his Majeſty will likewiſe be graciouſly pleaſed to Aſſent to an Act whereby his Majeſties Proteſtant ſubjects may be enabled to* ASSOCIATE *themſelves for the defence of his Majeſtie's perſon, the Proteſtant Religion, and the ſecurity of His Kingdoms.* Let any man judge whether theſe were not as calm, orderly and warrantable ſteps towards an *Aſſociation*, as any could be deviſed. And indeed our Abhorrers, for all their Clamours againſt Aſſociations, have not the face to ſay any thing againſt theſe proceedings: Only they cry, they will enter into none *without his Majeſties conſent*; as if the Parliament had told the King, they would enter into one *whether He would or not.* But they think they have got a better pretence for decrying and abhorring them, than theſe motions towards one in the Parliament, and that is, the model of one ſaid to be found in the E. of *Shaft. bury's* Cloſet. Now though I doubt not but in convenient time it will be made out, as clear as a Negative can be, that that paper was *not* found there: yet for diſcourſes ſake we will ſuppoſe that it *was.* And then I ſay, that if there were

any

any thing contained in it that were *of it ſelf* Treaſonable; I know not how it would have affected my Lord *Shaftsbury*, unleſs it had appeared either to have been of my Lords hand-writing, or that he had tender'd it to be ſubſcrib'd by any one, or at leaſt it had been prov'd that my Lord knew of its being there. None of which has been, nor I am confident can be made out by any one. And if my Lord, at whoſe door they lay it, be no more concerned in it; there is no colour of reaſon in the world to charge I know not what others for conſenting to it. So that we have a great cry, and a little wool. The *Myſtery of Abhorrence* therefore lies here: As the former *Addreſſes* were calculated againſt the Bill of *Excluſion*; ſo the late *Abhorrences*, againſt the Bill of *Aſſociation* that was to back it. And as both theſe Bills aimed at nothing elſe but the ſafety and defence of his Majeſties perſon and the Proteſtant Religion, and the ſecurity of theſe Kingdoms, by means which the Houſe of Commons in their great Wiſdoms thought lawful and neceſſary for thoſe ends: So our Addreſſers and Abhorrers ſeem to aim at the clean contrary; For if the Papiſts do ſee the way made plain for a Popiſh Succeſſor (as theſe Gentlemen endeavour to make it) his Majeſties moſt ſacred perſon is in continual danger of being aſſaſinated by the deſperate Inſtruments of the Popiſh Faction; which if once effected (which the good God forbid!) what then will become of the Proteſtant Religion and the welfare of theſe Kingdoms, I tremble to contemplate.

But I would have all Papiſts to know, that we are not yet ſcared out of our wits with the noiſe of Abhorrences, nor would I have them over-confident of carrying the day, for all the intereſt they have made. When Queen *Elizabeth* with her Proteſtant Subjects were in like danger from the Q. of Scots and her Traiterous Faction (27 *Eliz.*) as his preſent Majeſty with the like ſubjects now are from a Parallel, we find very great numbers of the beſt quality ſpontaneouſly entring into an *Aſſociation*, (putting thereto their hands and Seals) wherein, "If her Majeſty ſhould come to an *untime-*
"*ly* death, they did not only bind themſelves never to allow,
"ac-

" accept or favour any ſuch pretended Succeſſor, BY whom " or FOR whom any ſuch deteſtable Act ſhould be Attempt- "ed or Committed, as unworthy of all Government in any " Chriſtian Realm or Civil State: But did alſo further pro- " teſt———to perſecute ſuch perſon and perſons to death " with their joynt and particular Forces, and to act the " utmoſt revenge upon them, that by any means they or " any of them could deviſe or do, or cauſe to be deviſed " and done for their utter overthrow and extirpation.] And if the Queen of Scots and her Faction ſhould (only) " at- " tempt any Act, counſel or conſent to any thing that " ſhould *tend to the harm* of her Majeſties Royal perſon, they " would with their joint and particular Forces, withſtand, " offend and purſue, as well by force of Arms as by all " other means of revenge, all ſuch perſons, of what ſtate " ſoever and their Abettors, and never deſiſt from all man- " ner of purſuit againſt them, to the utter extermination of " them, their Councellors and Abettors.] Now it does not at all appear, that the Queens pleaſure was conſulted in this affair, but that the Aſſociators did it purely of their own heads: for in thoſe dayes there was that mutual confidence betwixt Prince and people, that Loyal ſubjects never feared the incurring the charge of Treaſon for contriving and uſing all poſſible means for the preſervation of their Sovereign: but contrarily, when this Aſſociation was turned into an Act of Parliament ſoon after (intitled, *An Act for proviſion to be made for the ſurety of the Queens Majeſties moſt Royal perſon*, &c.) theſe Aſſociators are therein ſtyled, *Her Majeſties good and faithful Subjects*, and are acknowledged to have done it, *in the name of God and with the teſtimonies of good conſciences*. But I urge not this, as if any Aſſociation were to be entred into *againſt* the Sovereigns mind; for it is one thing to do a thing *without* his Pleaſure firſt known, and another to do it *againſt* the ſignification of it: However the Aſſociation propoſed in Parliament, that occaſioned this diſcourſe, was ſo far from being caried on *againſt* the King's mind, that we ſee they petition'd Him for his *aſſent* to it, before they had made any progreſs in it; which as I do not know

that

that he has granted, ſo neither that he has deny'd.

To be ſhort: As I will not take up Arms without the King's Commiſſion, nor enter into any Aſſociation, *to commence in his life-time*, againſt his conſent: So I do proteſt (as I doubt not, many thouſands will do with me) that if his Majeſty ſhall come by any untimely and violent death, or ſhall be *forced* to a Reſignation (which is a Political death) He, BY whom or FOR whom ſuch untimely death ſhall be procured, or ſuch Reſignation extorted, *Shall not Reign over me.* For I cannot think any man that has one drop of Royal bloud in his Veins, ſo much incapacitated for the Crown as ſuch a Traytor.

FINIS.

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